

Message Text

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ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03

SS-20 USIA-15 ACDA-19 IO-14 SAJ-01 OMB-01 NIC-01 EB-11

DRC-01 (ISO) W

----- 093122

R 101005Z DEC 73

FM AMCONSUL HONG KONG

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8947

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

USLO PEKING

CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

C O N F I D E N T I A L HONG KONG 12416

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CH

SUBJ: SHANGHAI ON FOREIGN POLICY

SUMMARY: THE NEW SHANGHAI JOURNAL WHICH APPEARS TO BE THE MOUTHPIECE OF THE POWERFUL SHANGHAI LEFTIST GROUP HAS REITERATED THE PRINCIPAL THEMES OF THE REGIME'S CURRENT FOREIGN POLICY, VERY MUCH AS ENUNCIATED IN CHOU'S REPORT TO THE TENTH PARTY CONGRESS. USING THE SAME BREST-LITOVSK ANALOGY CITED BY CHOU, THE JOURNAL COMES OUT SOLIDLY FOR COMPROMISE WITH THE UNITED STATES AS "NECESSARY." AT THE SAME TIME THE SHANGHAI AUTHORS GO TO GREATER LENGTHS THAN DID CHOU EN-LAI IN HIS TENTH PARTY CONGRESS REPORT IN STRESSING THAT THIS IS AN EXPEDIENT POLICY AIMED AT THE ULTIMATE CONFIDENTIAL

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DESTRUCTION OF ALL "IMPERIALISTS" INCLUDING THOSE OF THE UNITED STATES. THE JOURNAL ALSO ECHOES CHOU EN-LAI'S FAVORABLE VIEW OF US FORCES IN EUROPE, NATO AND THE COMMON MARKET, AND HIS STRESS ON CONTENTION OAS THE MAIN ASPECT OF US-SOVIET RELATIONS. LIKEWISE

SHANGHAI SUGGESTS THAT THERE IS LITTLE HOPE IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE OF A TURN-FOR-THE-BETTER IN SOVIET POLICY. THESE ARTICLES APPAR TO CONFIRM THE VIEW THAT THE BASIC LINES OF FOREIGN POLICY ARE NOT CURRENTLY SUBJECTS OF DEBATE WITHIN THE PEKING LEADERSHIP (HONG KONG 9796). END SUMMARY.

1. THE SECOND ISSUE OF THE NEW SHANGHAI JOURNAL "STUDY AND CRITICISM"--THE APPARENT MOUTHPIECE OF THE RADICAL LEFTIST FACTION OF THE LEADERSHIP OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY (HONG KONG 11953)--CARRIES THREE ARTICLES ON WORLD POLITICS WHICH PUT THE LEFTIST FIRMLY BEHIND AN EXPEDIENT COMPROMISE WITH THE UNITED STATES IN FACE OF THE SOVIET THREAT (TRANSLATION TO BE ISSUED AS SCM SUPPLEMENT). THE LANGUAGE OF THE ARTICLES IS QUITE BLUNT, INCLUDING A REFERENCE TO THE "AMERICAN RULING CLIQUE" WHICH HAS NOT APPEARED IN PRC CENTRAL MEDIA FOR SOME TIME. THE FIRST ARTICLE REVIEWS LENIN'S DECISION TO COMPROMISE WITH IMPERIAL GERMANY IN THE TREATY OF BREST-LITOVSK. THE ANALOGY IS CLEARLY MADE THAT THE SOVIET UNION IS NOW PRESSING CHINA HARD IN AN ATTEMPT TO DESTROY THE CHINESE REVOLUTION IN THE SAME WAY IMPERIALIST AND REACTIONARY FORCES WERE ATTEMPTING TO DESTROY THE SOVIET REVOLUTION IN 1918. OVERCOMING STRONG OPPOSITION, LENIN CHOSE TO MAKE A TEMPORARY COMPROMISE WITH GERMANY (HERE READ THE UNITED STATES) IN THE TREATY OF BREST-LITOVSK IN ORDER TO GAIN TIME TO CONSOLIDATE THE REVOLUTION. MAO IS QUOTED AS HAVING SAID (APPEARENTLY IN A CONTEMPORARY CONTEXT) THAT "IF AFTER THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION, THE RUSSIAN BOLSHEVIKS HAD ACTED ACCORDING TO THE ADVICE OF THE 'LEFTWING COMMUNISTS' AND REFUSED TO MAKE PEACE WITH GERMANY, THE NASCENT SOVIET UNION WOULD HAVE BEEN IN DANGER OF FALLING APART."

2. THE ARTICLE BEGINS WITH THE SAME LINE FROM LENIN USED BY CHOU EN-LAI IN HIS REPORT TO THE TENTH PARTY CONGRESS (AUGUST 24) THAT THERE ARE DIFFERENT KINDS OF COMPROMISES--EITHER OPPORTUNISTIC OR PRACTICAL-- WHEN ONE IS DEALING WITH BANDITS. THE REVIEW OF LENIN'S DISPUTE WITH BUKHARIN AND TROTSKY ON WHETHER OR NOT TO COMPROMISE WITH GERMANY SUGGESTS A PARALLEL WITH THE 1971 DEBATES WITHIN CHINA ON WHETHER OR NOT TO DEAL WITH THE UNITED STATES. THE "LEFTWING COMMUNISTS (BUKHARIN) ARE SAID TO HAVE DONE EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO OPPOSE SIGNING THE PEACE TREATY INCLUDING "BRANDING THOSE REVOLUTION-CONFIDENTIAL

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ARIES WHO HAD STEADFASTLY KEPT TO THE LENINIST LINE AS 'COLLUDING WITH IMPERIALISM' AND 'LACKEYS OF GERMAN IMPERIALISM'." TROTSKY, ON THE OTHER HAND IS SAID TO HAVE ATTEMPTED TO GLOSS OVER THE CRISIS AND ADVOCATED A MIDDLE LINE.

3. THE EDITORS HAVE NO SYMPATHY EITHER FOR THOSE WHO SIMPLISTICALLY BELIEVE THAT CHINA SHOULD "MAKE ENEMIES ON ALL SIDES" AND ADVOCATE "STRIKING OUT WITH BOTH FISTS" OR FOR THOSE WHO ATTEMPT TO DOWNPLAY THE SOVIET THREAT AND SUGGEST COMPROMISES WITH THE SOVIET UNION. IN A COMPLICATED WORLD, THE ARTICLE ARGUES, ONE MUST THINK IN COMPLEX TERMS AND DETERMINE ONE'S FORM OF STRUGGLE ON THE BASIS OF AN ACCURATE EVALUATION OF RELATIVE STRENGTHS.

4. AT THE SAME TIME, THE EXPEDIENT NATURE OF THE COMPROMISE WITH THE IMPERIALISTS IS MADE STARKLY CLEAR. LENIN IS SAID TO HAVE SIGNED THE TREATY OF BREST-LITOVSK TO SHATTER THE IMPERIALIST CONSPIRACY TO STRANGLE THE SOVIET REGIME AND TO DEFEAT IMPERIALISM WITH BETTER RESULTS. THE POLICY WAS DESIGNED TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF CONTRADICTIONS AMONG THE IMPERIALIST POWERS AND TO TURN THESE CONTRADICTIONS AGAINST THE PRINCIPAL ENEMY TO SERVE THE REVOLUTIONARY CAUSE. TO LEAVE NO DOUBT THAT SUCH DEALS WITH THE IMPERIALISTS ARE TEMPORARY EXPEDIENTS, THE ARTICLE NOTES THAT AFTER THE IMMEDIATE DANGER HAD PASSED, THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT "ABROGATED THE PREDATORY BREST-LITOVSK TREATY, A TOTAL VICTORY FOR LENIN'S TACTICAL FORESIGHT." NO CHINESE READER WOULD MISS THE THEORETICAL POINT THAT THE SAME RULES WOULD BE APPLIED TO THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE AND THE POLICY OF FRIENDSHIP WITH THE UNITED STATES WHEN AND IF OBJECTIVE CIRCUMSTANCES SHOULD CHANGE. ON THE OTHER HAND THE ANALOGY DOES NOT GIVE A DEFINITE CLUE AS TO WHAT CHANGES WOULD MAKE THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE INOPERATIVE.

5. THE SECOND ARTICLE ON FOREIGN POLICY--A REVIEW OF LENIN'S WORK ON IMPERIALISM--IS QUITE SIMILAR TO THE SEPTEMBER RED FLAG ITEM ON THE SAME TOPIC (HONG KONG 9474), BUT IT PLACES SOMEWHAT MORE STRESS ON THE MONOPOLY CAPITALIST AND THUS IMPERIALISTIC NATURE OF THE US AS WELL AS THE SOVIET UNION. IT POINTS OUT THAT RECENT AMERICAN PRESIDENTS WERE ALL REACTURES OF THE MONOPOLY CAPITALISTS, NAMING EISENHOWER, KENNEDY AND JOHNSON AS EXAMPLES. THE IMPLICATION OF THIS ARTICLE IS THAT DUE TO THEIR CLASS NATURE THE US AND THE SOVIET GOVERNMENTS ARE BOTH INHERENTLY HOSTILE AND EVIL FORCES. THE SEPTEMBER RED FLAG PIECE, ON THE OTHER HAND, SEEMED DESIGNED TO PROVE THAT THE SOVIETS ARE JUST AS BAD, OR WORSE, THAN THE US--A HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL

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NUANCED DIFFERENCE PRESUMABLY REFLECTING AN ATTEMPT BY THE SHANGHAI ORGAN TO DISPLAY STILL MORE EVEN-HANDED ENMITY TOWARD BOTH SUPER POWERS.

6. THE THIRD ARTICLE ON THE WEST EUROPEAN COMMON MARKET REFLECTS THE KIND OF ANALYSIS OFTEN EXPRESSED BY CHOU EN-LAI REGARDING THE ROLE OF US FORCES IN EUROPE AND NATO AS A COUNTER TO SOVIET POWER; AND THE COMMON MARKET. THE ARTICLE QUOTES ADENAUER'S REPUTED WARNING THAT "ONCE THE SOVIET UNION SUCCESSFULLY CONTROLS WEST EUROPE...SOVIET RUSSIAN ECONOMIC AND MILITARY POWER AS WELL AS ITS POWER TO HANDLE THE UNITED STATES AND TO DEAL WITH RED CHINA'S POWER TO RESIST WILL GROW TREMENDOUSLY." THE ARTICLE THUS TREATS THE EFFORTS OF THE US TO MAINTAIN A BALANCE OF POWER IN EUROPE AGAINST THE SOVIET MENACE AS AN INEVITABLE AND EVEN--BY IMPLICATION--POSITIVE RESULT OF THE CONTENTION BETWEEN THE SUPERPOWERS. NEVERTHELESS, THE ARTICLE NEITHER ASSOCIATES THE PRC AND THE US--BACKED "BALANCE OF POWER" NOR TREATS IT AS PERMANENT. NOTING THAT THE US HAS BEEN FORCED TO CHANGE ITS PREVIOUS "MASTER-SLAVE" RELATIONSHIP WITH WESTERN EUROPE TO ONE OF "SO CALLED" PARTNERSHIP, THE ARTICLE APPROVINGLY PROJECTS THIS TREND TOWARD A TIME WHEN WEST EUROPE WILL BE UNITED AGAINST HEGEMONY BY EITHER US OR USSR. SIGNIFICANTLY, THE

SHANGHAI ANALYSIS AVOIDS ANY CRITICISM OF NATO IN THE PORTUGUESE COLONIAL CONTEXT AND IT DOES NOT RAISE THE QUESTION OF HOW TH "LAWS OF IMPERIALISM" MAY AFFECT THE "MONOPOLY CAPITALISTS" OF EUROPE.

7. CONCLUSIONS: THESE ARTICLES BY THE SHANGHAI GROUP SHOW BASIC AGREEMENT ON CHOU EN-LAI'S FOREIGN POLICY AS GIVEN IN HIS REPORT TO THE TENTH PARTY CONGRESS. THE CONFIRMATION OF THIS ORTHODOX CONSENSUS IN CHINA'S ELITE AND THE EMPHATIC REJECTION OF THE MAIN EXTREMIST ALTERNATIVES OF XENOPHOBIC AUTARKY AND COMPROMISE WITH THE SOVIETS ARE GOOD OMENS FOR FUTURE SINO-AMERICAN RELATIONS. AT THE SAME TIME, HOWEVER, THE SHANGHAI ARTICLES PLACE SOMEWHAT GREATER STRESS ON THE "INHERENT HOSTILITY" OF US MONOPOLY CAPITALISM AND THE TEMPORARY AND EXPEDIENT NATURE OF THE SINO-US DETENTE THAN CHOU'S REPORT TO THE CONGRESS OR RECENT RED FLAG ARTICLES.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 10 MAY 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PRESS COMMENTS, POLITICAL STABILITY, FOREIGN RELATIONS, HEGEMONY, COLONIALISM, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION, POLITICAL PARTIES, IMPERIALISM, COMMON MARK ETS, COMMUNISTS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 10 DEC 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: mcintyresh
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973HONGK12416
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: HONG KONG
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19731256/abqcefca.tel
Line Count: 181
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION EA
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: mcintyresh
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 23 JUL 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <23-Jul-2001 by willialc>; APPROVED <13-Sep-2001 by mcintyresh>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SHANGHAI ON FOREIGN POLICY
TAGS: PFOR, CH
To: STATE INFO BONN
LONDON
MOSCOW
PARIS
TAIPEI
TOKYO

PEKING

CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

Type: TE

Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005